

SOME MAJOR EXPERIENCES OF OUR SUCCESSFUL PEOPLE'S WAR AGAINST U.S. WAR OF DESTRUCTION

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WHILE our people all over the country were jubilantly celebrating the splendid victories of the South Vietnam armed forces and population in Winter 1966-Spring 1967, the bringing down of the 2,000th U.S. aircraft over North Vietnam added to their elation and enthusiasm.

In the South, with more than one million troops at their disposal, the American imperialists have been unable to check the successful resistance of the heroic Liberation forces and people, to extricate themselves from a defensive position and a quagmire, and to stave off failures. For all their increased strength and war materials, their second strategic counter-offensive has suffered heavier setbacks than the previous one.

In the North, continuing their escalation to a serious degree with a very large air force—approximately one-third of the total of fighter and reconnaissance planes used in Vietnam—the U.S. aggressors have proved incapable of shaking the determination of our army and people to defend their fatherland.

After over two years of a cynical and reckless war of destruction against the D.R.V., they have shown their inability to ward off ever-bigger failures in their "limited war" of aggression in South Vietnam.

The higher the Americans escalate their war of destruction in the North, the more the Liberation forces and people in the South consolidate and promote their military superiority on the theatre of operations, enhancing their unremitting offensive position, wiping out large numbers of their troops, driving them deeper and deeper into a quandary, aggravating their defensive posture and causing them ever heavier and gloomier failures.

The harder the Americans strike at the North and the more U.S. and satellite troops are poured into the South, the more the armed forces and people in the North are "resolved to live up to their pledge to fight shoulder to shoulder with their 14 million southern compatriots for the liberation of the South, and eventual national reunification" (President Ho Chi Minh's words—*Ed.*)

As the U.S. aggressors step up their war of destruction, they show still more clearly to our and the world's peoples weaknesses of theirs which will bring about their total failure, both political and military. At the same time people's war in the North has

reached a new, unprecedented high and recorded ever more far-reaching successes.

1. We have crushed the Americans' basic scheme to shake our people's determination to resist their aggression with bombs and shells. It is in this crucial that this determination has been tried and tested and become firmer than ever before. The resolve of our people in both parts of the country stiffens in proportion to the barbarous devastation sown by the aggressors and the crimes they perpetrate, which make us better and better realize that "nothing is more precious than independence and freedom", guard us against their honeyed protestations of peace and impel forward our struggle animated by the unbreakable will to defend the socialist North, liberate the South and eventually achieve national reunification. Hitting the North in order to weaken our resolve to resist aggression, the Americans have chosen a suicidal course of action and behaviour typical of foolish bullies who bump their heads against the iron will of an entire people determined to fight off foreign invasion. The more obduracy they display, the heavier their losses and the quicker their total defeat. Their unjustified and inhuman acts of war can only strengthen the will of resistance for national salvation of our compatriots throughout the country. *UPI* (May 13, 1967) reporting a recent visit to North Vietnam by the British journalist Felix Greene, quoted him as saying, "Every last one of them (the Vietnamese people—*Ed.*) is ready to die, and when a nation is ready to die, they are not going to be frightened about anything else."

Such a state of things constitutes the biggest of our people's victories and also the most basic of the U.S. imperialists' failures. It proves that the aggressors' calculation that armed force would bring a heroic people like ours to their knees was an erroneous and stupid one. The Americans have failed to attain this objective and will never attain it.

2. We have crushed another U.S. basic scheme—the recourse to a war of destruction against the North to prevent us from aiding our kith and kin in the south, to raise the morale of the Saigon army and administration, isolate and eventually crush the South Vietnam revolutionary war. It is since the United States escalated its war of destruction to the North that our countrymen here have shown stronger resolve, together with their brothers and sisters in the South, to defeat the U.S. aggressors. Communications and transport in the North keep ceaselessly developing.

Assistance from the big rear to the big front in the people's war now encompassing the whole country has increased manifold. Instead of rising, the morale of the puppet army and administration has been seriously deteriorating. Far from weakening and being driven into isolation, the revolutionary war in South Vietnam has been making ever greater progress with every passing day and the Liberation forces growing ever stronger, fighting efficiently ever bigger engagements and winning ever greater victories. This constitutes also a very basic failure of the U.S. imperialists completely at variance with their wishful thinking.

3. We have been successfully carrying on socialist construction in the North, making it stronger than ever politically, morally and economically and in defence potential. The United States hope for a weakening in socialist building in North Vietnam has been and will definitely be an illusion. Never have our people here, under a continuously consolidating advanced social regime, united so closely around, and reposed firmer confidence in, the leadership of the Vietnam Workers' Party Central Committee and the D.R.V. Government headed by President Ho Chi Minh. Never have they been so politically conscious, mobilized and organized on so broad a basis, and steeled in such fighting and production conditions in view of the confrontation with the enemy under any circumstances. Never have they either displayed such abilities in the fighting and production, and such readiness for sacrifice to defend the North and liberate the South.

Never before, in a very short length of time, have our Party and people created and developed such powerful armed forces comprising three categories (regulars, regionals and guerrillas—Ed.) with adequate effectives and high quality, arms and services equipped with up-to-date weapons and other war materials that they can efficiently man such as jet planes and missiles. They have been trained and tried in actual fighting, and are devising clever, original combat methods to vanquish the U.S. Air Force, Navy and even ground troops should these venture to set foot in North Vietnam.

It is under U.S. bombing and shelling and in defiance of their devastation that our socialist economy has been oriented to suit war conditions, is developing and bringing about its effect in all areas. This economy, including industry, agriculture and communications, can, with the help of the fraternal socialist countries, meet the primary requirements of the fighting, construction and the people's life for a protracted war, at the same time creating the basis for national rebuilding once the war is brought to a victorious end.

The realities of the war have proved the superiority of the socialist system in the North and demonstrated that socialist North Vietnam is quite capable of standing whatever bitter trial to pursue socialist construction and the fighting successfully.

4. We have knocked out an important part of the U.S. Air Force's and Navy's planes and pilots. We shot down 2,000 modern aircraft of all types, killed and captured about one thousand pilots from all parts of the United States (nearly all the American aircraft carriers have their pilots in our jails), sunk, set afire or damaged some 80 U.S. warships and U.S. and puppet commando vessels. We thus delivered a bitter blow to the U.S. Air Force—the trump card of its so-called "unconceivable military strength"—and modern Navy, too. Not only did the Americans lose a strategically important part of their military strength in terms of pilots and aircraft, but more significant is the fact that this strength has been debunked before the eyes of the world's peoples and the myth of their air force exploded. The latter has its limitations while its tactics and techniques can perfectly be defeated and its men trounced.

Our armed forces and people have acquired a good deal of valuable experiences in countering the U.S. Air Force and Navy and come to realize what they have to do, what combat methods they should use to shoot down many more American planes, capture many more pilots, fight off the enemy's raids and reduce their losses to the minimum.

Our success is a major victory of people's war and a great military defeat of the war of destruction. This military failure of the U.S. imperialists further darkens the gloomy picture of their war of aggression in Vietnam.

5. Together with South Vietnam we have compelled the Americans to spread thinner their forces, driven them into a greater defensive strategic position in both parts of our country and into an utter political isolation in Vietnam, the United States and the world, even in a number of their "allies,"

This situation supplies further proof that the U.S. viewpoint according to which victory would result from the use of the air force is wholly erroneous, just as its policy of hitting at the North to compensate for its setbacks in the South is senseless. In attacking the D.R.V.—an independent and sovereign state and a member of the socialist camp—the American imperialists have increased more substantially than ever the sympathy and support of the latter and progressive mankind at large to our just struggle. Their war of destruction against North Vietnam constitutes one of the weakest points in their aggressive enterprise against our country. It has caused them many difficulties of a political and military nature. On the stupid actions committed by Washington in Vietnam, the British magazine *New Statesman* (May 5, 1967) wrote that Johnson was like a circus clown and every time he kicked his hat forward and stooped to pick it up, the situation became tenser and without any prospect of a settlement. The struggle waged by the world's peoples for an end by the Yankees to the bombing of North Vietnam has turned into a widespread mass movement. Our offensives in all the military, political and diplomatic fields in the two parts of our country are more closely co-ordinated and have strongly developed. As the U.S. imperialists still remain stubborn and have not given up their aggressive schemes, our people's fight is bound to be arduous and fierce in the days to come. However, the gloomy fate of the aggressors is sealed.

Thus, after two years of relentless confrontation with the piratical U.S. Air Force and Navy our people in the North and their armed forces have in a vigorous effort foiled the basic schemes of the U.S. war of destruction and achieved tremendous all-round successes on the military and political planes, in the fighting and national construction, in strategy and tactics.

We become stronger as we fight on, and have acquired most valuable experiences. In the context of the enemy's characteristics and schemes, of our capabilities and the new conditions in which we frustrated these schemes, as well as of the fact that in our struggle we relied on our socialist system, the lessons drawn from the people's war versus the war of destruction contention are new, diverse and comprehensive ones. These are: bringing into play the superiority of the socialist regime to mobilize and organize the people's forces into the fighting, production and the readjusting of the masses' life to war time conditions; organization and execution of the air-defence work consisting of both fighting and protection; keeping the traffic open despite enemy fierce raids on communications and transport. Following are some of the most important lessons concerning leadership.

TO ASSESS CORRECTLY THE ENEMY'S STRATEGIC INTENTIONS AND CAPACITY OF ACTION; TO BE FIRMLY DETERMINED TO ACHIEVE VICTORY; TO MAKE ACTIVE AND ADEQUATE PREPARATIONS AND DEAL WITH THE ENEMY TIMELY AND RESOLUTELY

A war of destruction is an unfamiliar form of warfare to the adversary and ourselves. An accurate assessment of his strategic intentions and the action he is bent on, constitutes a very important basis for us to strengthen our determination and work out plans to deal with him properly.

Grasping our class stand point and class struggle, basing itself on the development of the South Vietnam revolution and from the world situation connected with the Vietnam problem, and aware of the U.S. strategic objective in South-East Asia in general and in the south of our country in particular, *our Party has adequately appraised the nature, the aim and rules of the enemy's war of destruction. Hence a sound and timely policy.*

From the outset we have been of the opinion that the U.S. war of destruction is not a separate war, but part and parcel of the U.S. war of aggression in South Vietnam, aimed at averting its defeat there. It is closely linked with the latter war, dependent on its process of development and, basically, will come to a conclusion only when U.S. aggression in the South ends in complete failure. On the other hand, through its war of destruction the United States also challenges, and strikes a blow at, the socialist camp, the peoples of independent and sovereign countries, and the world revolutionary forces; it also tries to intimidate the revolutionary peoples everywhere on the globe. We have also assessed that as the U.S. war of destruction is not an all-out war of aggression, we can therefore cope with it by priority sectors, and above all determine the correct relationship between production and the fighting in the North.

Guided by the above-mentioned appraisal and prior to every outstanding success of the South Vietnam revolution, we have always had plans handy to thwart U.S. manoeuvres to wreck North Vietnam.

For instance, when simultaneous popular insurrections triumphed in different areas in the South, we predicted that the Americans would send commandos to the North in an attempt to cause disturbances and start "guerrilla warfare". This came true and we dealt with the situation in good time: from 1961 to 1964 air- and sea-borne commando groups were swiftly wiped out. Towards mid-1964 when the South Vietnam revolution made big strides forward, the puppet army and administration was facing massive disintegration, and the sabotage activities by commandos had resulted in a flop, our Party accurately predicted that the U.S. imperialists would resort to more sophisticated forms of sabotage including air strikes. We timely placed part of our armed forces on a war footing and increased our army units' combat readiness. Therefore, we enjoyed full freedom of action and successfully countered provocations mounted by the U.S. Air Force and Navy in the first days of August 1964 and February 1965.

Right from early 1965 when it became increasingly clear that the enemy's "special warfare strategy" in the South would come to grief, our Party was aware that his war of destruction acts might become frequent. Accordingly, switching over to war time conditions we defined new tasks for our national salvation struggle and rapidly developed our armed forces.

Clearly enough, the heavier the losses the U.S. aggressors incur in the South, the higher they step up escalation in the north: such is a law of their war of de-

struction. And every rung of their escalation step corresponds to a new success of the revolutionary war in South Vietnam. The serious steps beginning from late February 1967 and including the shelling of the Northern zone with long-range artillery based South of the demarcation line, the bombardment of our coastal areas from warships, the mining of our rivers and canals and the heavy bombings of our industrial centres and populated areas of Hanoi and Haiphong were closely associated with bitter setbacks suffered by over one million U.S. and puppet troops in the 1966-1967 dry season on the South Vietnam theatre. The losses of the Americans in both parts of our country are proportionate to their escalation in the North in a gradual sliding into total defeat. That is also a law ruling their war of aggression. In their recent raids against Hanoi and Haiphong in the closing days of April this year, they lost an all-time record number of aircraft and experienced pilots over North Vietnam. The bitter blows delivered repeatedly by the Liberation forces at the U.S. and puppet airfields and rear bases at Chu Lai, Da Nang, Hue and Quang Tri were fine examples of co-ordinated action to knock down the enemy.

Grasping the law governing the war of destruction, and the close relationship between the two zones, we have had complete initiative in dealing with U.S. escalation and foiled everyone of its moves.

We have correctly assessed U.S. political and military strong and weak points in the war of destruction, especially its political foibles.

A product of the U.S. setbacks on the South Vietnam theatre of operations, from the very start it has always in its *strategic passivity and failure*, which becomes more and more serious in the process of the fighting in both zones.

Fighting an unjust and utterly naked war of aggression against an independent and sovereign state, a member of the socialist camp, thereby challenging the revolutionary and progressive forces the world over, *the more the Americans extend their destructive military actions, the greater is their political isolation* as this inescapable rule governs all their activities, they are compelled to closely combine brutal and barbarous strikes with political and diplomatic deceptive manoeuvres, and destructive actions with psychological warfare. Hence, they undertake escalation step by step, at each of which they betray anxiety, sound public opinion and put pressure on us, each of which being conditioned by the development of the war in South Vietnam and their diplomatic moves. This explains why now they press forward, now shrink back to the charge with more boldness and recoil again. U.S. war escalations look like a vicious circle and apparently follow no established rule, very much like the ant which has landed on a tree stump in one of our folk songs. In fact, they are subject to a definite rule stemming from complex military and political factors in the U.S.A. and the world, in South and North Vietnam, and from the contradiction between the U.S. desire and its ability to realize it and our own strong counter-blows.

All those causes and conditions govern the action of the U.S. Air Force and restrict its power and strong points.

The strength of the U.S. Air Force lies in its large number of planes, in the great quantity of up-to-date technical means and bombs and bullets at its disposal,

and in its ability to use numerous bases in Thailand, South Vietnam and on the sea. It can hit us from several directions, in different weather conditions, by day and by night. Nonetheless, owing to its political isolation and the present correlation of forces in the world, the United States has to carry out escalation step by step rather than massive and rapid, strategic surprise bombings. Instead of being strategically caught unawares, North Vietnam has had every condition and enough time to place the country on a war footing, to develop its forces and accumulate experiences with a view to dealing the U.S. Air Force ever-stronger counter-blows. American generals in the air force have bitterly complained that the time to knock out North Vietnam with decisive strategic bombings has already gone by. Reality has shown that the U.S. Air Force holds no absolute superiority as claimed by American warmongers' misleading propaganda. It is plagued by many foibles mainly because it cannot freely bring into full play its power which is in fact limited due to U.S. utter political isolation, of its own hampered military action, its inability to use massive strength for major strikes. The very low morale of its pilots is further sinking in face of our ever-heavier and more effective air fire power. Militarily, there are weak points the Americans cannot overcome; their tactics and technique are not fit for war conditions in Vietnam and for meeting our combat methods. Their targets are too numerous, too small and sometimes moving, against which they have to use even aircraft designed for atomic bombings. It often happens that to destroy such tiny objectives as a bamboo pontoon, they use up-to-date aircraft worth some million dollars each, which miss it and are brought down by our A.A. fire. What a laughing stock, indeed! In the process of the war of destruction more than two years old now, the U.S. Air Force which has put into action every type of modern planes and technical means, has suffered ever-greater losses and, from the tactical point of view, landed in an increasing quandary in face of our creative fighting methods and fast-developing air defence forces.

The U.S. imperialists have to admit the *big difficulties* confronting their air force, which aggravate its foibles: limited number of planes, losses exceeding the productive capacity, necessity of dispersal of forces over too many theatres to hit too many targets, bomb shortage (for instance, bombs produced in April 1967 had to be used in May the same year), serious shortage of trained pilots particularly in the Navy, which has led to the utilization of those belonging to the U.S. strategic reserves, and so on.

The weaknesses and difficulties of the U.S. Air Force have in effect become more and more obvious in the process of the war. The myth of its "supremacy" has been debunked.

On the basis of a correct assessment of the enemy's strategic aim, strong and weak points as well as its intended action, *we have rightly and with a grim determination made up our minds* to fight off the war of destruction as a whole, and worked out appropriate and sensible plans to check every escalation step and every concrete action accompanying it.

Such a high sense of purpose constitutes the first objective and decisive factor of our victory in the war.

Our *firm resolve* to vanquish the U.S. war of destruction is based on the deep realization of the truth that "nothing is more precious than independence and freedom", and on the equally deep consciousness of our task to liberate the South, defend the North, of our national interests and international duty. Voicing this resolve, President Ho Chi Minh has unequivocally stated:

"Johnson and his clique should realize this: They may bring in five hundred thousand troops, one million or even more to step up the war of aggression in South Vietnam. They may use thousands of aircraft

for intensified attacks against North Vietnam. But never will they be able to break the iron will of the heroic Vietnamese people to fight against U.S. aggression, for national salvation. The more truculent they are, the graver their crimes. The war may last another five, ten, twenty years or longer, Hanoi, Haiphong and other cities and enterprises may be destroyed, but the Vietnamese people will not be intimidated! Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom. Once victory is won, our people will rebuild our country and endow it with bigger and more beautiful constructions."

Now that the American aggressors are attacking Hanoi and Haiphong, and undertaking terrorist raids against our populated centres, we uphold our iron determination to free the South and safeguard the North, no matter what hardships and sacrifices we have to endure, foiling all attempt at intimidation with armed force, exposing their "peace negotiations" hoax, with the resolve to make those blood-thirsty demons to repay their blood debt.

When they have reached the highest rung of their criminal escalation without achieving any of their purposes, they will definitely achieve none as our people are determined to fight to the last for their independence and freedom—then the war of destruction in the North and the war of aggression in the South will come to the end of the U.S. blind tunnel.

Our *clear-cut motive* is based on the said iron will and on the very accurate analysis of the revolutionary situation at home and in the world, of the relationship between the war of destruction in the North and the "limited war" of aggression in the South, and of the correlation of forces between our adversary and U.S.

Our *policy is, under whatever circumstances, to join hands with our southern kith and kin and to defeat the American aggressors*. We have taken the keeping of communications open as the central emergency task of all our Party and people, we have made it our duty to substantially increase the aid to the big front from the big rear in defiance of the enemy's strikes and at the same time to fight off U.S. air attacks actively and with initiative, and cope with all other destructive actions resolutely and all-sidedly.

We have been following the progress of the U.S. war escalation on a permanent basis, and have correctly predicted everyone of their moves. Consequently we have been able to deal with them in an active way, timely, calmly resolutely and with focal points thus taking the initiative in the military field, downing a great number of U.S. planes and capturing a good many U.S. pilots, safeguarding our positions, maintaining our communications in good repair and restricting our losses while attacking on the political and diplomatic fronts.

Our firm and motivated determination has made it possible for us to record major victories in both parts of our country. It stems from the fact that our people possess a clear class standpoint, high revolutionary vigilance and a deep sense of reality. We knew well our revolutionary requirements, our enemy, our strength and we were aware whom we had to fight, so we were not afraid to confront our enemy and managed to win victories over him. To consolidate and permanently strengthen our resolve to fight off the American aggressors in the whole process of the war particularly in its most arduous and fiercest stages; to grasp thoroughly the viewpoints and accurate assessments of our Party and to keep in close touch with the realities of the war in the two zones, as well as with the changes occurring in our opponent's camp with a view to foreseeing correctly these new escalations and concomitant manoeuvres, all these constitute the basic conditions for us to deliver still more telling blows at the U.S. imperialists, who are sowing devastation and ruins in our fatherland.

THE WHOLE PEOPLE WAGE AN ALL-OUT PROTRACTED WAR, RELYING MAINLY ON THEIR OWN POWERS WHILE STRIVING TO SECURE INTERNATIONAL ASSISTANCE

TO defeat the U.S. imperialists' war of destruction, our Party's war line is people's war and its general guiding principle is: War waged by "the whole people, in all fields, for a long duration, relying mainly on our own powers while striving to secure international assistance."

The people's war against the U.S. war of destruction in the North constitutes part of the people's war over all the country against U.S. imperialist aggression. It follows general rules and at the same time takes on features distinct from those of the people's war line applied in new conditions: North Vietnam now endowed with great politico-moral, organizational and material possibilities by the socialist regime; the limited character of the war of destruction, the enemy's schemes and actions and our necessity to frustrate them.

Our Party has mobilized the *entire people* for the struggle against the war of destruction. Resisting the U.S. modern air force and navy is not only the task of the standing army but also requires the active and courageous participation of militia and self-defence members and the people as a whole in the following fields: fighting (shooting down adverse planes with infantry weapons, capturing pilots and commandos, replacing A.A. gunners, hitting commando ships, making preparations against eventual surprise attacks and troop landings, etc.); serving the fighting (gun-hauling, camouflage, defence-work building, food and munition supply, cares to the wounded, etc.); road repairing, keeping the traffic moving and protecting communications and transport; evacuation and dispersal into safety of the State and army's property and storages; doing away with the aftermaths of the enemy's destruction; keeping law and order. Our 17 million northern compatriots have set unprecedented examples of revolutionary heroism: with infantry weapons, militia and self-defence units have downed scores of U.S. modern jet planes; millions of anti-airraid shelters and tens of thousands of kilometres of communication trenches have been built; under bombing and shelling, the annual yield of 5 tons of paddy per hectare has been attained in a number of localities, and regional industry expanded into a wide network from the hill-forest regions to the coastal areas; schools and institutes have completed their programs and research plans, etc...

The war waged by the whole people has generated new, far-reaching and very scientific developments. This is due to the superiority of the *socialist regime in North Vietnam*, capable of mobilizing to the fullest and organizing in the most rational way the strength of the entire people to tide over all difficulties and meet war requirements. Realities of the recent past show that broad masses of the people take part in all activities dictated by the task of resisting the war of destruction — military men and civilians, civil servants in State organs including the economic, administrative, cultural, medical, educational and other branches in the centre and provinces, members of all enterprises and co-operatives. All these forces are rationally organized and very closely directed and display tremendous capabilities. The socialist regime has demonstrated its superiority in the formation of new citizens with deep class and national consciousness, high fighting spirit, readiness to make sacrifices for the common interests, and having a certain amount of general, scientific and technical knowledge, and physical stamina to fulfil their duties satisfactorily on all the fronts of the struggle. The superiority of the socialist system

is also evidenced by the complete politico-moral identity of mind of the entire people and in the building of a great material potential as well as in the mobilization and efficient organization of these moral and material forces with a view to foiling the adversary's schemes and acts of sabotage. The wonders worked by the people and armed forces of North Vietnam in the fighting, production, communications over the past few years are precisely the product of that advanced socialist regime.

Thus, in order to enhance the mass character of the people's war in the North, one of our greatest experiences is *to rely on the superiority of the socialist system, to promote to the highest degree possible, and to use as rationally as possible all available forces, closely combining these to help in the most efficient way the fulfilment of our tasks.*

Worse hit areas such as Vinh Linh, Quang Binh and Ha Tinh owe their achievements in production, the fighting, communications and transport and other fields of activities precisely to the fact that the conduct of the war waged by the whole people is based on the superiority of our socialist system.

Although the war of destruction is restricted in scope as compared with the "limited war", the enemy strikes at us on all planes. The people's war we oppose to it should therefore be a *comprehensive* one. To put it concretely we should go on producing while fighting, continue building socialism in the North; at the same time as we defend the North, assist the South Vietnam revolution, keep communications open for the dispatch of supplies from the rear to the front; we should wage a military struggle alongside a political and diplomatic struggle in an endeavour to frustrate the enemy's psychological warfare; from a strictly military point of view, while shooting down planes, hitting warships and replying to adverse artillery, we should organize civilian air defence, do away with the aftermaths of air strikes, round up commandos and ensure public security.

In the conduct of the people's war to counter the war of destruction, importance must be attached to the aforesaid duties, in particular, to the fighting, civilian air defence, communications and development, anti-psychowar struggle, maintenance and development of production, and stabilization of the people's life. These are closely interrelated and interacting duties. Indeed, unless we fight well, we cannot protect our positions, maintain communications and transport in good order and protect production and the people's lives and property; inversely, only with an adequate civilian air defence and an effective anti-psychowar struggle can we raise the people's fighting spirit, make it possible to successfully resist the enemy, maintain and boost production. We should therefore closely co-ordinate all those tasks to impel forward our all-out war and achieve the best results possible in each of our numerous jobs. Simultaneously every locality should at a given period know how to concentrate its capabilities on accomplishing a definite task of a decisive influence on all others. It was in this way that for a time Military Zone X and Province Y could push ahead all their activities, which bent their energies respectively on fighting the enemy and civilian air defence.

As has been said above, being part of the war of aggression against Vietnam and linked to the "limited war" in the South, the war of destruction will practically be brought to an end only when this "limited

war" comes to a complete flop. So the war of destruction is a *protracted* one and as long as the South Vietnam revolution has not triumphed, North Vietnam cannot live in peace.

The American imperialists have failed to subdue our people in the North in a relatively short period and are forced to fight a long war in both parts of our country.

In this process the greater successes recorded by the revolutionary war in the South, the more serious U.S. escalation in the North. Such is the main trend of the war of destruction. In the recent past, the adversary has de-escalated, even stopped bombing, for some time and he may do so again in future. This is due to numerous causes, such as: the enemy's reluctant abandonment of part of his combat plans following his bitter failures; his forces spread thin on many theatres, chiefly to cope with the situation in the South, his usual punch impaired by his heavy losses in aircraft and pilots and shortage of bombs and shells; his destructive actions combined with psychological warfare to create illusions over his "peace negotiation" offers. However, those are nothing more than transient and isolated phenomena. So long as the American aggressors do not reconcile themselves to their failures in the South, they will cling to their destructive schemes and actions in the North.

That is why, in executing every task dictated by the people's war we oppose to the U.S. war of destruction, from the ideological and organizational point of views, *we should stand ready and take the initiative to deal with the highest escalation steps (including the landing of ground troops for surprise attacks) and be thoroughly imbued with the policy of waging a long war, in the process of which we grow stronger.* We must never slacken our vigilance and combat whatever illusion, whatever tendency to take short views and neglect the preservation and fostering of our forces—armed forces and all the popular forces serving the fighting, production and the people's life in view of a protracted war.

In our struggle against the war of destruction *we must rely mainly on our own powers and at the same time strive to secure international assistance,* especially from the socialist countries. These are two closely related factors on which depends our ultimate victory. International assistance assumes paramount importance but, however great, it has to make its effect felt through our own efforts. That is the law of revolutionary war.

Our Party and people have *by themselves settled correctly and creatively all questions concerning our*

line and policy, our guiding principles, and people's war strategy and tactics. We know our people, our land and our opponent and have our own ways of solving all problems regarding the fighting and production to meet the demands of our revolutionary struggle. As far as our armed forces are concerned, including all services and such modern arms as air force and missiles, while doing our best to learn and adequately use the techniques and experiences of the fraternal countries, we have, under the Party's leadership, tackled every technical problem always with the specific conditions of Vietnam in mind.

As for the material potential we must also rely mainly on our own possibilities.

There is no other alternative to meet the tremendous, complex and all-sided requirements of a protracted struggle against the war of destruction. Our advanced socialist system and our all-out war in which we produce while fighting and build up our forces while carrying on socialist construction, enable us to do so. Understood as above, our self-reliance spirit is precisely a manifestation of genuine proletarian internationalism.

All our armed forces and people must be deeply imbued with this spirit. So must each army unit, each locality; instead of counting on others' help they must develop their independent thinking and creativeness to settle their own problems.

We are not fighting single-handed. We are struggling for national and international interests, to defend North Vietnam, to liberate South Vietnam, to make a contribution to the safeguard of the socialist camp, the independence of other peoples, and peace in South-East Asia and the world, against U.S. aggressive imperialism—the topmost imperialism, the enemy of all the forces of peace, national independence, democracy and socialism in the world. For this reason we enjoy the active support and aid of all countries in the socialist camp and the progressive people in all continents. Never before have our people benefited by such an extensive international help in their struggle as today.

This international help, particularly from the socialist camp, is very great and very important, *on both moral and material planes, above all its agreement with, and approval of, our Party's line in the struggle against U.S. aggression for national salvation.* We are extremely grateful to the socialist countries for this invaluable help pervaded with proletarian internationalism and must continue striving to secure it and making our contribution to strengthening unity in the socialist camp on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

TO APPLY CREATIVELY PEOPLE'S WAR MILITARY ART IN AIR DEFENCE AND ACTIVELY BUILD UP AIR DEFENCE FORCES ALONG THE FIGHTING- WHILE-BUILDING UP GUIDING PRINCIPLE

OUR people's war experiences in the resistance against French colonialism and now in the revolutionary war against U.S. aggressive imperialism in the South, are mainly experiences drawn from the struggle against ground forces in a total war. The question is to apply them in the concrete conditions of a U.S. "limited war" waged mainly with air force at a time when our army and people command new possibilities. To utilize in a creative way people's war military art in air defence and in the build-up of air defence forces, constitutes a great successful lesson for our Party in the conduct of the people's war against the U.S. war of destruction. It marks a new develop-

ment in the people's war theory of our party. It has also brought about far-reaching changes in the modern military theory of many developed countries in the world, especially concerning the role of the air force, missiles and the methods to counter those modern weapons and other war means.

Starting from our Party's people's war concept, we have from the outset assessed that to fight U.S. up-to-date aviation, *we must mobilize the whole people into this struggle, use all the three categories of our armed forces as the core and utilize to the fullest extent possible all available weapons and means, from*

infantry weapons — rifles and submachineguns included — to anti-aircraft guns of all types, aeroplanes and missiles.

Reality has shown that we must have and need to have the condition to equip ourselves to a certain extent with modern weapons and means such as jet planes and missiles. To actively build up these arms is a great endeavour of our Party. The skilful handling of these up-to-date weapons by our officers and men in the last period marks an outstanding maturity of our armed forces. Nevertheless, reality has also shown that jet planes and missiles are not universal air defence weapons like there never is a universal weapon adapted to all complicated fighting conditions of the war. Like other weapons, airplanes and missiles have their own characteristics and effectiveness: they have their weak points and strong points and are suitable to certain fighting conditions. That is why in our endeavour to build up our air force and missile units, we have paid particular attention to developing A.A. artillery of all calibres and the effectiveness of infantry weapons to fight U.S. planes. The militia and self-defence units have downed up-to-date jet planes of the U.S. This is not a particular case but a fact of frequent occurrence, a fact which at a time in the past and even today has struck with awe the military strategists who glorify too much modern weapons and technique. We have correctly assessed that each arm, each weapon has its own important position, and the close co-ordination between various arms and weapons is the linchpin to create a fire network of many levels which is effective everywhere in order to down as many U.S. planes as possible and staunchly defend our positions.

Through practice, we have found and correctly assessed that the principle of utilizing our forces in A.A. combats tallies with our actual conditions, namely to **closely combine the A.A. forces of the army — A.A. batteries, missiles, air force, radar — with the widespread movement of infantry units and militiamen in order to shoot down U.S. planes, taking A.A. units as core.**

This is a unique feature of our air defence fighting art, which can only be conceived on the basis of a highly developed people's war, in which every inhabitant and combatant volunteer to fight, using all weapons and means available, under the close leadership and with the scientific organization of an advanced social system. Commanders in the U.S. Air Force and Navy as well as many military authorities in the West have recognized the great efficiency of the North Vietnam air defence network and the necessity of new conceptions regarding the role of the air force, missiles and A.A. guns in the air force and air defence theory.

We also **grasp and creatively apply the principles of people's war direction in our air defence to determine correct combat guide-lines, resourceful and flexible fighting methods and appropriate tactics.**

In application of our army's basic guide-line — "actively to wipe out enemy forces, preserve and foster our own" — in our air defence with a view to satisfying our needs, we have defined our **guide-line** in this field as follows: "actively and with initiative to knock out enemy forces, defend our positions, preserve and develop our forces so that the more we fight, the stronger we become."

In order to put in practice that guide-line we have correctly solved the problem of the relationship between destruction of adverse forces and defence of our positions (including communications and transport) and the relationship between wiping out enemy troops, defence of our positions and preservation and development of our forces. In all this we regard the knocking out of the adversary actively and with initiative as the main and decisive aspect.

Our air defence forces have also devised **efficient, clever and versatile combat methods.** With these our men equipped with infantry weapons have succeeded in bringing down scores of U.S. modern jet fighters and our medium- and long-range A.A. guns, high-speed planes. Likewise our missile units smashed unmanned reconnaissance planes at very low altitude. On the Vietnam theatre of operations, U.S. modern air force cannot bring into full play all their strong points whereas their weaknesses are aggravated. Our ingenious and flexible combat methods, free from mechanical imitation, enable us to deal very efficaciously with adverse forces superior in number and technical equipment. Our technical arms and services like aviation and missile units have also created their own tactics suitable to the specific conditions in Vietnam and immune from dogmatism and sterile imitations. They encounter enemy planes in large and scattered formations, in large and small engagements, from a distance or in close-range fighting, with local and mobile forces, at low and high altitudes, from every direction.

Concerning the tactics, we use in combination two main ones: build emplacements to defend our positions and use mobile forces to fight the enemy. We know how to concentrate our strength so as to destroy adverse planes and defend our positions, a method which gives a concrete expression to our initiative and determination in dealing with our opponent. As to the active and resolute utilization of mobile forces, it constitutes a striking indication of our mastery of the air defence guideline: initiative and activeness. By so doing we can bring into full play our initiative and timely muster our strength in decisive directions and at decisive moments to take the enemy by surprise. We can thereby also constantly alter the firepower of our air defence network and center it on focal points while extending its range to hit at him in all places and making it difficult for him to detect and cope with our blows.

The destructive effectiveness of our air defence also derives from the **closely co-ordinated action** of all services and weapons. We carried out splendidly co-ordinated fights as in Thanh Hoa on April 3 and 4, 1965, in Haiphong on April 26, 1967 and in Hanoi on May 5 and 10. As we have many combat methods in store with different weapons in different situations, there exist many ways of co-ordinating our action's (on a regional or directional basis, on an altitude or time basis, or on the basis of positions to be defended, etc.). As the result, there are also numerous co-ordination patterns to use, suitable to concrete conditions; mechanical application should then be avoided not to reveal to the enemy our rules of action or to miss the opportunity of knocking him out. Co-ordinated fighting is the "first step to modernization" of all armed forces. To continue raising the co-ordinated fighting standard with a view to increasing the integrated strength of all services, weapons and other modern war means now constitutes the urgent requirement of air defence force.

In air defence we attach equal importance to these two aspects: **to fight the enemy while dodging his blows with activeness and initiative, pushing ahead civilian air defence.** The latter task is of extreme importance as it enables us to protect the lives of the people, their and the State's property in order to reduce our losses to the minimum and provide facilities for our struggle and our growth as we fight on. Simultaneously it has the effect of stiffening the determination of armed forces and people, and stabilizing our lives and production in war time. On the other hand civilian air defence reflects the degree of development of the people's war we oppose to the war of destruction. It cannot be adequately achieved otherwise than on the basis of the people's high vigilance, of the deep sense

of responsibility and mass line of the cadres at all levels with regard to the people's lives, to their and the State's property.

The main experiences mentioned above concerning air defence military art prove that our Party's guideline in the conduct of people's war entirely conforms to the new air defence conditions. We should study and grasp new scientific and technical knowledge so as to skilfully handle new weapons and other war means. However, the basic problem having a decisive effect on the victory of our air defence lies first and foremost in the thorough understanding and adequate application of the Party's guideline in people's war direction to elaborate diverse, original combat methods for the Vietnamese air defence forces. Only thus could we enrich the treasure of our people's war art.

In order to meet the urgent demands of the resistance against the war of destruction and, simultaneously, face all eventualities, **we have actively developed our armed forces in general and our air defence in particular along the "producing while fighting, building up while fighting and zealously increasing the quality of all units" guiding principle.**

We have diligently, unreservedly expanded all our three categories of armed forces to satisfy the needs springing from the task of countering the war of destruction, such as air defence and air forces, the engineering corps, communications and transport in general and military communications and transport in particular. All the ground troops in the regular army, all the units of the regional, militia and self-defence forces have also been organized and trained both to stand by to combat U.S. ground troops, and to fight the U.S. Air Force and Navy with adequate strength in the present war conditions and with facilities to increase quickly when necessary. Generally speaking, the present composition of our arms and services in the over-all structure of our armed forces differs substantially enough from that of other countries. The structural balance of the armed forces is not something unalterable, set once for all according to the wish of any one; it is subject to changes prompted by the task facing us. We have therefore to work out proportions suitable to the requirements of the people's war we oppose to the war of destruction and the U.S. war of aggression in general.

In emergencies the strength of all units and services will grow very rapidly. And once the effectives have reached a given degree of development **the problem of increasing the quality of the armed forces will become a very urgent one.** Then an adequate solution to this problem will tremendously boost the fighting capacity of the armed forces and considerably augment the effectiveness of all units in combat just as the strategic effect of all component services. The Nguyen Viet Xuan anti-aircraft battalion has furnished a typical illustration on this score: operating in a hot sector, this battalion does not surpass others in troop strength, weaponry and other war means. Nevertheless, thanks to its high combativeness it ranks first for having brought down the largest number of American planes and suffered the lightest losses.

A number of our militia units are credited with the shooting down of many planes. One missile regiment have downed more than 100, one air force company, 30 and a soldier, 10. One military transport company has always overfulfilled its plans and sustained no casualty at all. Those realities show that while **increasing our strength rapidly in war time conditions we are fully capable of settling the problem of raising the quality of our armed forces** so as to fight adverse

formations superior in number and technical equipment.

It is obvious that to fight while building up our air defence force, to build it through fighting and—on the basis of raising speedily the political consciousness of our troops—rapidly to train them tactically and technically, then to test them in actual fighting, and draw the experiences acquired with a view to further enhancing their capabilities of all units, is a wholly sound policy aimed at quickly increasing the quality of our air defence force at the same pace as the development of the strength. This quality depends on many factors. That is why we boost it all-sidedly—politically, ideologically, technically and in terms of combat methods, equipment and qualifications of the cadres—so as to ensure that **all units are firmly determined to fight, to use the best combat methods and all weapons and war means at their disposal in order to shoot down as many aircraft and sink or damage as many warships as possible.**

The rapid, quantitative and qualitative growth over the short recent past of the armed forces in general and the air defence forces in particular, and their brilliant combat successes, constitute far-reaching achievements of our Party and people.

In two years of confrontation with the U.S. war of destruction, under the correct and resolute leadership of the Party our armed forces and people have been combating very courageously and cleverly. By their fighting spirit, their military technique and creative labour, they have written an undying epic of our nation. Together with the people's war against the U.S. war of aggression in the South, the people's war in the North marks a new, significant and unique advance in the theory and practice of our people's war. It has laid a very important foundation for greater successes in future, no matter what schemes and forms of aggression the U.S. may resort to.

The American imperialists have been suffering bitter losses in both parts of our country and will continue to do so in the time to come. But they will step up escalation with new reinforcements and much more wicked tricks. The nearer we come to our ultimate victory, the more hardships we shall have to endure. The test of strength between us and the enemy will continue more relentlessly. We must be prepared in all respects to confront and withstand the grimmest trials.

Our people in the North as in the South have been winning great victories. It is our determination to maintain to the end our stand against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, to defend the North, liberate the South, achieve the eventual reunification of the motherland, and to discharge our lofty international responsibilities, notwithstanding the worst sufferings and sacrifices.

The longer we fight, the stronger we become. Profiting from the valuable experiences of the past several years—experiences acquired at the cost of our blood—our armed forces and people will surely deal the U.S. imperialists much heavier blows. Unleashing their air force and navy in a criminal adventure against North Vietnam, the aggressors bump their heads against a rock and the more they wriggle, the more they get hurt. They have made such a big strategic blunder in their history of aggression that they cannot possibly stave off their ultimate lamentable failure.